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Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version
Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Toca, C. V. (2015). European border cities as cross-border cooperation engines. *Eurolimes*, 19, 5-16. <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-464386>

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European Border Cities as Cross-border Cooperation Engines

Constantin-Vasile ȚOCA¹

A general research on the works related to the European border cities reveals the fact that scholars do not so frequently approach this matter. One of these very rare sources, that of Decoville, Durand and Feltgen² considers the border cities from a new and very interesting perspective for the former communist countries: that of de-marginalisation of the border urban areas, of an upgrading of the status of peripheral regions, and, in the end, of the dynamisation of their economic and cultural life by their very easy to establish external relations in the framework of the process of cross-border cooperation. In the context of the greater consideration allotted to the problem of borders and cross-border cooperation in the EU, consecrating an entire issue of *Eurolimes* to the role of the border cities could be considered as an act of reparation to these urban areas, to their ethnic diversity, multicultural sophistication, political role in key situations, or economical potential for their communities and even region or country. Very often cities situated on the borders have to report their decisions and activities not only to the needs of their citizens, but to the realities of their out-border vicinities or even to the laws of the neighbour countries. In different historical times, to be placed on a border could represent either an opportunity or a risk, and Europe and European cities, during their histories, also faced with the two possibilities. Although differences of the two sides of the borders are inherent and will persist, probably, for long periods of time in the future, after the world wars Europe has experienced many changes when it comes to its border structure³, and very often divergent interests have created development regions that are rather homogenous.

The volume no. 19 of *Eurolimes*, *Border Cities in Europe*, deal with two very important concepts: borders and cities, but takes these even further by concentrating on

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² Antoine Decoville et al., „Opportunities of Cross-border Cooperation between Small and Medium Cities in Europe,” *Report Written in the Frame of the Spatial Development Observatory, on Behalf of the Department of Spatial Planning and Development – Ministry of Sustainable Development and Infrastructure in Luxembourg*, LISER (2015): 6, accessed August 20, 2015, http://www.dat.public.lu/eu-presidency/Events/Workshop-3/Opportunities-of-cross-border-cooperation-between-small-and-medium-cities-in-Europe-_LISER_.pdf.

³ Karoly Kocsis and Ferenc Schweitzer, *Hungary in Maps* (Budapest: HAS Geographical Institute, 2009): 21-28; Karoly Kocsis, *South Eastern Europe in Maps*, 2nd, Revised & Expanded Edition, (Budapest: Geographical Research Institute, Hungarian Academy of Science, 2007), 26-36; Patrick Picouet and Jean Pierre Renard, *Les Frontieres Mondiales Origines et Dynamiques* (Nantes: Editions Du Temps, 2007), 7-9; Ohli. Rehn, *Europe's Next Frontiers* (Munchen: Ed. Nomos, 2006): 13-76; István Süli-Zakar and Ioan Horga, *Regional Development in the Romanian / Hungarian Cross-border Space – From National to European Perspective* (Debrecen-Hungary: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadoja, 2006), 27; István Süli-Zakar, *Borders and Cross-border Co-operations in the Central European Transformation Countries* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadoja, 2002), 44-46.

integrative concept around border cities around Europe. Thus the concept of *borders* should be viewed taking into consideration four main points of view⁴:

- Political: state, nation, sovereignty, nationalism, economic policy, geopolitics, regional resettlement, cross-border regionalisation;
- Economic: flows, cross-border interaction and spatial annihilation;
- Cultural: identity, national culture, ethnicity, sex, sexuality, environment, peace and feminist movements, migrations;
- Regional: demarcation of regions, regions and social structures, regions as a result of history, regional identity.

Remigion Ratti points towards a cross-border typology that identifies four main dimensions for the border: institutional border, geopolitical border, socio-territorial border, and socio-cultural borders⁵. Therefore, the current issue of *Eurolimes* is structured in three parts: border cities, cities in the border regions, frontiers cities and border/frontier cities: between communication and fragmentation. The volume ends with a series of literature review of books relevant in this field of interest. The papers presented in this issue of *Eurolimes* have concentrated on analysing European border cities. The cities that have been chosen as review subjects are: Nicosia, Bratislava, Kaliningrad, Debrecen, Oradea, Sarajevo, Chernivtsi, Izmir and Tiraspol.

In the first part of the volume, Petros Papapolyvion and Giorgios Kentas in the article entitled “Nicosia: A Divided Capital in Europe” take a look at the dividing lines that have shaped the city of Nicosia during its history, dating back to the colonial period of Cyprus and the Turkish invasion from 1974. Nicosia is the capital of Cyprus. The authors focus on the challenges that Nicosia has to deal with in the face of strong separation between the Greek and Turkish inhabitants. The solution that was used to create stability was the split of Cyprus in two, since 1974; strengthening this vision is also the constitution, a quite controversial piece of legislation. The issue of local communities has also been explored within this article. The other 5 cities in Cyprus are also divided in two by Greek and Turkish communities. The authors stress the negative effects of separation in Nicosia⁶

⁴ Klára Czimre, *Studia Geografica. Euroregionalis fejlődés az EU csatlakozás kuszobán különös tekintettel Magyarország euroregióira* [Studia Geografica. Euroregional Development at the Verge of EU integration with a special regard on Hungary's euroregions] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadoja, 2005), 9.

⁵ István Süli-Zakar, *Társadalomföldrajz – területfejlesztés II* [Social Geography and Territorial Development] (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadoja, 2003), 443.

⁶ Dana Pantea, in the article “Cross-border Politics and Its Image in the European Union,” in *Eurolimes* 4, *Europe from Exclusive Borders to Inclusive Frontiers*, ed. Gerard Delanty et al. (Oradea-Debrecen: Oradea University Press, 2007), 147, quotes Jacques Rupnik who says “The borders of the EU will be shaped as a cross between a democratic and a geopolitical project rather than the other way around: a project shaped by pre-determined historical or cultural borders”. Alina Stoica in the book review “Culture and Pluralism in Europe,” in *Eurolimes* 12, *Communication and European Frontiers*, ed. Luminița Șoproni et al. (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2011), 213, analyses the book of Georges Contogeorgis, *L'Europe et le monde. Civilisation et pluralism cultural*, published in 2011. Referring to the book of Georgios Contogeorgis, the author emphasizes the importance of preserving the variety of cultures in Europe: “The second part of prof. Contogeorgis' book analyses the issue of the fundamentals and limits of the European cultural pluralism. (...) The globalization of the model of free and open society has facilitated the intimate contact between cultures. To accumulate ways of life and technologies circumscribed to them is one thing. But to assimilate them is a totally different thing. (...) Historical evolution shows us that any culture can lose some of its traits and win others”.

and argue that the only solution is reconciliation⁷. In 2004 Cyprus entered the European Union opening up more opportunities for cooperation. Nicosia should rise above separatism, one solution to this being a possible reunification as the authors suggest.

Fedorov Gennady Mikhailovich, Belova Anna Valerievna and Osmolovskaya Lidia Gennadjevna in their paper “On the Future Role of Kaliningrad Oblast of Russia as an ‘International Development Corridor’” write about the issues in Kaliningrad⁸ and its condition as a Russian enclave in the Baltic Sea region. The authors develop the concept of “development corridor”⁹. Cross-border cooperation can be used as an efficient instrument to move towards this direction and develop the regional economy¹⁰. Professor Palmovsky, cited by the authors makes reference to a bipolar territorial system with Russia being surrounded by EU countries such as Lithuania and Poland. The article also proposes a SWOT analysis to show strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to economic development in Kaliningrad. Creating a strategic “international development corridor” is viewed as a promising option for the region in the authors’ opinion; the Kaliningrad region can act as a cultural and touristic contact point within this “development corridor”. In this respect authors pay close attention to projects implemented in the tourism area and protection of cultural heritage.

Ana-Teodora Kurkina, in her article entitled “Borderland Identities of Bratislava: Balancing between Slovaks, Germans and Hungarians in the Second Half of the 19th Century” defines the concept of borderland as a symbol of cultural and political division.

⁷ Anca Oltean in the book review of the volume *National and Ethnic Identity in the European Context* (written by David Dunkerley et al.), in *Eurolimes 6, Intercultural Dialogue and the European Space* (Oradea: Oradea University Press, autumn 2008), 197, underlines the fact that the present Europe is no more a Europe of individuals, but of peoples of European Union: “In the chapter *People’s Europe? The Social Dimension of European Integration*, written by Andrew Thompson, several problems are emphasized. The author considers that the social dimension of European Integration was neglected in favour of economic interests of the process of integration. The author considers that at its origins, European integration was more an economic project, but the social dimension of the integration gains more and more importance. More and more, European Union tends to become a Europe of peoples. Now when the problem of a European citizenship gains more and more importance it is obvious that European integration is not anymore a problem of elites, but of all citizens of Europe”.

⁸ The Kaliningrad region is a point of cultural contact and tourism development on the “development corridor”.

⁹ Cristina Dogot in the article “La culture de l’autrui dans la pensée de Denis de Rougemont,” in *Eurolimes 6, Intercultural Dialogue and the European Space*, ed. Cristina-Maria Dogot et al. (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2008), 31, makes a distinction based on Denis de Rougemont conception between “l’homme européen” and Russians or Americans, remarking also the cleavages and the difference of values promoted in East and West of Europe in the period of cold war: “Rougemont juge l’eupéen par comparaison et soutient, lui, que les conceptions européennes d’une part, et celle américaine ou russe, d’autre part, sur la nature ou la condition de l’homme exemplaire, diffèrent profondément. En effet, pour les européens le grand homme exemplaire, serait un homme épris d’absolu, à la recherche des valeurs essentielles et des raisons de vivre, tandis que pour les Américains ou pour les Russes ce serait l’individu moyen, l’exemplaire de série, l’homme qui produit et consomme. Selon l’écrivain, l’homme européen, celui de la contradiction, ou l’homme dialectique, est une personne, et l’idée de l’homme représente ‘le trésor de l’Europe’”.

¹⁰ Genady Fedorov and Yuri Rozhkov-Yuryevsky, “The Correlation between the Barrier and Contact Functions of the Kaliningrad Section of the Russian Border,” in *Eurolimes 15, A Security Dimension as Trigger and Result of Frontiers Modifications*, ed. Giuliana Laschi et al. (Oradea: Oradea University Press, Spring 2013), 77-90.

Identity borders are occupying a space of division and intersection in the author's opinion. The concept of "identity" is linked to national identity¹¹ and was extensively used in political discourse in the 19th century. Bratislava is perceived as a contested territory that has been marginalised, influenced by a "mental border"; the name Bratislava has been in use after the creation of the Czechoslovak state. At the beginning of the 20th century the Hungarian minority becomes the biggest minority in Bratislava. The Hungarian identity, as defined by the author, is constructed on two elements: the Hungarian language and the devotion towards Hungary. There are also the issues of German heritage and that of non-violence. The German influences can be seen in the architecture of the city (gothic and renaissance buildings). While the Slovaks have adopted the Hungarian model, the Germans have adopted their own identity. The case of Bratislava is thus very specific: situated in a territory populated mostly by Slavic people, the city has strong influences from Hungarian and German models. As a conclusion the author also emphasises the role of the state in the city's identity.

Corina Turşie presents a paper entitled "Re-inventing the Centre-periphery Relation by the European Capitals of Culture. Case-studies: Marseille – Provence 2013 and Pecs 2010" that explores the relationship between centre and periphery in the application of the European Culture Capital programme. The author uses two European cities one from France – Marseille Provence (2013) and one from Hungary – Pecs (2010). By applying data collected through Application (Bid) books, official web sites and ex-post evaluations of the European Commission, the author develops a quantitative content analysis method. Corina Turşie uses history and legislation provided for the European Capital programme to explore the process of application for the title and the effects of heritage regeneration in the two border cities defining local values. The slogans used for the Culture Capital campaigns the "Borderless city" for Pecs and "Sharing the South" for Marseille Provence, while both cities showed interest for international and multicultural values. Through exploring their geographical position, Pecs was thought of as a mediator between East and West – Balkan cultures and Western Catholic and Protestant cultures, while Marseille was designed as Mediterranean euro-metropolis. More recent history has also been used to promote the two cities: Pecs used its socialist heritage while Marseille made connections with "distant lands and colonies". In the author's opinion, urban culture and urban public space need to be reinvented and as such analysed this approach in the two cities: Pecs as "a city of lively public spaces" and Marseille as a "radiant city".

The Romanian-Hungarian border region is analysed through looking at Oradea as border city and its recent history of cross-border cooperation. This cooperation has been steadily developing since 1990 when the border between the two states became much more permeable enabling cross-border communication and a series of results that are convergent from cross-border cooperation. There are numerous authors that have studied the cross-border cooperation relationship between Romania and Hungary and the region

¹¹ Erhard Busek in the article, "Moving Borders," in *Eurolimes 11, Leaders of the Borders, Borders of the Leaders*, ed. Cristina-Maria Dogot et al. (Oradea-Debreceen: Oradea University Press, 2011), 197- 198, writes about the role of immigrants in Austro-Hungarian Empire in XIXth century: "We have to speak about, that a lot of immigrants in the 19th century created a very valuable world in the centre of Europe. If I am looking to science, poetry, arts, literature, those who have created this richness of culture here in the centre of Europe are coming of different directions. There were crossing borders very successfully learning from each other by crossing borders and taking pieces of everything with and by this mixture we are creating a lot of new things. You can name it multicultural, multiethnic, or whatever you want, but it is the expression of richness".

around Romania's western border: Ioan Horga¹², Florentina Chirodea¹³, Luminița Șoproni¹⁴, János Péntzes¹⁵, Adrian Claudiu-Popoviciu¹⁶, Constantin-Vasile Țoca¹⁷, Mircea Brie¹⁸ as well as Alina Stoica¹⁹, Cosmin Chiriac²⁰, Polgár István²¹.

¹² Ioan Horga, "Valorizarea cercetării științifice din mediul academic pentru evaluarea on-going. Evaluarea programelor de cooperare transfrontalieră" [Gaining value from scientific research for use in on-going evaluation. The evaluation of cross-border cooperation], in *Evaluarea cooperării transfrontaliere la frontierele României* [Evaluating cross-border cooperation at Romania's borders], ed. Ioan Horga and Constantin-Vasile Țoca (Oradea: Editura Primus, 2013), 21-34.

¹³ Florentina Chirodea, „Evaluarea programelor de cooperare transfrontalieră. Instrumente, metodologii și particularități” [Evaluating cross-border cooperation programmes. Instruments, methodologies and particularities], in *Evaluarea cooperării transfrontaliere la frontierele României* [Evaluating cross-border cooperation at Romania's borders], ed. Ioan Horga and Constantin Țoca (Oradea: Editura Primus, 2013), 35-48.

¹⁴ Luminița Șoproni, "The Regional Brand – Frontier or Dimension of the New European Identity," in *The European Parliament, Intercultural Dialogue and European Neighbourhood Policy*, ed. Ioan Horga et al. (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2009), 115-120.

¹⁵ János Péntzes, "The Question of Territorial Cohesion – Spatial Income Inequalities in Two Different Regions of Hungary," in *Regional an Cohesion Policy – Insight into the Role of the Partnership Principle in the Policy Design*, ed. Ioan Horga et al. (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011), 98-106.

¹⁶ Adrian-Claudiu Popoviciu and Constantin Țoca, „Romanian – Hungarian Cross-border Cooperation Trough a Possible EGTC Oradea–Debrecen,” in *Regional an Cohesion Policy – Insight into the Role of the Partnership Principle in the Policy Design*, ed. Ioan Horga et al. (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011), 241-261.

¹⁷ Constantin-Vasile Țoca, *Romanian-Hungarian Cross-border Cooperation at Various Territorial Levels, with a Particular Study on the Debrecen – Oradea Eurometropolis (EGTC)*, (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2013), 205; Constantin Țoca, "Project of the Debrecen – Oradea Cross-border Agglomeration," in *The European Parliament, Intercultural Dialogue and European Neighbourhood Policy*, ed. Ioan Horga et al. (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2009), 253-260; Constantin Țoca and Ioan Horga, "Sociological Research. Thinking the Future Together the Debrecen – Oradea Cross-border Agglomeration," in *Neighbours and Partners: On the Two Sides of the Border* (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadoja, 2008), 73-82.

¹⁸ Ioan Horga and Mircea Brie, „La cooperation interuniversitaire aux frontieres exterieures de l'Union Europeenne et la contribution a la politique europeenne de voisinage,” in *The European Parliament, Intercultural Dialogue and European Neighbourhood Policy*, ed. Ioan Horga et al. (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2009), 232-252.

¹⁹ Alina Stoica and Constantin Țoca, „Romanian – Hungarian Cross-border Cultural and Educational Cooperation,” in *Cross-Border Partnership with Special Regard to the Hungarian – Romanian – Ukrainian Tripartite Border*, Ed. Horga Ioan and István Süli-Zakar (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2010), 70-75.

²⁰ Cosmin Chiriac, "Administrative Units within the Carpathian Euroregion. Comparative Analysis," in *Cross-border Cooperation – Models of Good Practice in Carpathian Region (Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, Hungary and Romania)*, ed. Adrian-Caludiu Popoviciu (Bucharest: C.H. BECK Publishing House, 2014), 159-171; Cosmin Chiriac, "Spatial Data Analysis and Cross-border Cooperation. The Case of Bihor – Hajdú Bihar Euroregion,” *Analele Universității din Oradea, Seria Relații Internaționale și Studii Europene V* (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2013), 136-142.

²¹ István Polgár, "Controversies on the Punitive or Redeeming Character of the Trianon Treaty," in *Cross-Border Partnership with Special Regard to the Hungarian – Romanian – Ukrainian Tripartite Border*, ed. Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2010), 253-159; István Jozsef Polgár, *Tratatul de la Trianon: Impactul asupra*

The city of Debrecen, the second largest city in Hungary, is analysed from a historical perspective by looking at its various stages of development. First recorded in history in 1235 in *Regestrum Varodiencie* in Oradea, part of the Hungarian Kingdom in the western part of Bihor County, in the 16th century Debrecen became one of the cities of the Transylvania Principality together with Oradea. By the end of the 17th century the Transylvania became part of the Hapsburg Empire, with Debrecen becoming a free city in 1693. During the 19th century alongside the Reformation movement, the city started the modernisation process. Today Debrecen is a strong development pole in the region through its university and cross-border and European cooperation, being Hungary's second biggest university centre with research facilities; cross-border cooperation studies have been done through the Institute for Euro-regional Studies²².

Through common development strategies and cross-border cooperation initiatives such as PHARE CBC and the Romania-Hungarian cross-border cooperation Programme 2007-2013²³. The cities of Oradea and Debrecen also started a common development direction "Debrecen-Oradea: Common History, Common Future" with the twin cities sharing a common heritage and building a common future through development programs such as DebOra – a shared metropolis Debrecen - Oradea²⁴.

The segment on *Frontier cities* takes a look at Sarajevo, Chernivtsi, Izmir and Tiraspol as multicultural cities and border cities that present interesting case studies. Hence, Miruna Troncotă in her paper on "Sarajevo – A Border City Caught between Its Multicultural Past, the Bosnian War and a European Future" focuses on searching for an identity for the city, 20 years after the siege of Sarajevo. Through an analysis of the last 200 centuries in the city's history the author tries to create an image of the factors that have influenced development both internally and externally as well as understanding the inclusive and exclusive factors that have affected the population. The year 2015 marks the commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide (20 years since the event) and 20 since the war with Bosnia. On the 1st of June 2015 the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union has taken effect. The author's perception is that "the

istoriografiei române și maghiare (1920-2010) [The Trianon Treaty: The Impact on Romanian and Hungarian historiography] (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011), 254.

²² Ioan Horga and István Süli-Zakar, "Scientific Results of the Institute for Euroregional Studies Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence," in *Neighbours and Partners: On the Two Sides of the Border*, ed. István Süli-Zakar (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadoja, 2008), 7-12.

²³ Ioan Horga, "Evaluarea on-going a Programului de Cooperare Transfrontalieră Ungaria – România (2007-2013)" [On-going evaluation of the cross-border cooperation programme between Hungary and Romania], in *Evaluarea cooperării teritoriale europene* [Assessing European territorial cooperation], ed. Ioan Horga and Constantin Vasile Țoca (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2013), 23-36.

²⁴ Constantin-Vasile Țoca, in "Ethnical Analysis within Bihor – Hajdú Bihar Euroregion," in *Supplement of Eurolimes, Ethnicity, Confession and Intercultural Dialogue at the European Union Eastern Border*, ed. Mircea Brie et al. (Oradea-Debrecen: Oradea University Press / Debrecen University Press, 2011), 13, describes the effort that have been made for consolidation of Bihor – Hajdú Bihar Euroregion: "Nowadays, and more accurately after 1989, the cooperation at the Romanian – Hungarian border at the level of Debrecen and Oradea communities and of Bihor – Hajdú Bihar Euroregion has been more dynamic than ever. We can note an increased cooperation, in a diversity of ethnicities, and cultures, and religions; moreover, the perspectives of a cross – border cooperation and more recently territorial through the newest European cooperation instrument, i.e., Groupings for Territorial Cooperation – EGTC, have led us to debating on a new form of cooperation at the level of the two communities of Debrecen and Oradea, mainly through a possible Eurometropolis Debrecen – Oradea".

memorialisation of the war” is still an effect and it will be determinative in shaping the city’s European evolution towards multiculturalism²⁵.

Anatoliy Kruglashov in his article entitled “Chernivtsi: A City with Mysterious Flavour of Tolerance” looks at Chernivtsi as one of the most important cities in Ukraine, with its heritage and traditions that have survived until today. Chernivtsi is the most important city in the region of Bukovina situated in the border region of the Romanian-Ukrainian border. Its ethnic structure is quite diverse, with population that range from Jewish, Ukrainians, Romanians, Polish, Germans, Armenians and Russians; this ethnic diversity is paired with a regional culture of tolerance²⁶, with multiculturalism being a way of living. Tartar hordes, The Great Duchy of Lithuania, Poland and Hungary, but also Moldova and the Ottoman Empire have always heavily contested the territory itself. The official birth of the city happened in the time of Alexandru cel Bun’s rule of the Moldovan Principality. In 1775 Bukovina and Chernivtsi became part of Austro-Hungary, with the city developing a lot during that period; it is considered the start of the Europeanisation process for Bukovina. To manage its mixture of different populations in 1850 Bukovina became a Duchy with its own governing structure, with the Vienna Court supporting tolerance among the nations living there. The ethnic groups have all contributed to the development of the region: Ukrainians and Romanians live mostly in rural areas, the Jewish community influenced the urban settlements even though there hasn’t been a united community (separated between traditionalist and modernist), while some of them embraced German culture. While the region was part of the Romanian Kingdom, Chernivtsi became closer to European civilisation. Under soviet regime the region developed differently: the Ukrainian population grew and became the majority and Russian officials controlled important parts of local administration. During this period minorities were not considered a priority and the ethnic structure and organisation became fragmented. The soviet regime did not tolerate local ethnic manifestations. After the split from the Soviet Union, Chernivtsi lost a lot of its German, Polish and Jewish population. The multiculturalism and ethnical diversity that was such a big part of the city is much less visible today. The current system is a bipolar one, with Ukrainians on one side and Romanians and Moldovans on the other side²⁷.

²⁵ Ioan Horga and Ariane Landuyt in the article “Communicating the EU Policies beyond the/Its Borders,” in *Communicating the EU Policies beyond the Borders*, ed. Ioan Horga and Ariane Landuyt (Oradea: Oradea University Press, 2013), 7, underline the importance of having a strategy of communication and cooperation of EU with neighbouring non-EU states: “Today we live in a globalised world, where the relations between states, nations and international entities are complex ones, characterised by an increased level of interdependence. In such a world, where actors interact in myriad ways, strategic comprehension and employment of international communications has become a top priority for governments. As the member states of the United Europe have already recognised the importance of external communication with third countries, the European policymakers had to consider and how to better communicating and send their message abroad. The opinions and attitudes of people situated on the other of the *golden curtain of wealth* have a great significance because they influence the delivery of the EU’s economic and foreign policy objectives”.

²⁶ Mircea Brie and Ioan Horga, “Le frontiere europeee – espressioni dell’identità” [European borders, expressions of identity], *Transylvanian Review, ISI Journal XXIII*, supliment no. 1 (Cluj-Napoca: 2014): 202-216.

²⁷ Ana Maria Ghimiş in the paper “Ukraine at Crossroads” (book review of the book *Ukraine at Crossroads: Prospects of Ukraine’s Relations with the European Union and Hungary*, edited by Péter Balázs, Svitlana Mytryayeva, Boton Zákonyi. Budapest – Uzhgorod, 2013), in *EuroTimes* 16, *Cross-border Governance and the Borders Evolutions*, ed. Alina Stoica et al. (Oradea-Debrecen: Oradea University Press, 2013), 259, asks herself which will be the politics of Ukraine in the near future:

Sedef Eylemer and Dilek Memişoğlu in their article “The Borderland City of Turkey: Izmir from Past to Present” present the city of Izmir, a large metropolis (3rd largest city in Turkey) situated on the coast of the Aegean Sea in the Western part of the Anatolian Peninsula with a Mediterranean climate. During the Ottoman rule the city developed a lot as being the source of many civilisations: Muslim, Christian and Jewish. During the 15th – 19th centuries, the city developed as an important port and since 1923 the city functions under the Turkish republic. The article concludes with a few observations: the urban identity of the city has been influenced by multiculturalism and its historical heritage as well as the fact that economically as a port at the Aegean Sea.

Vasile Cucerescu and Simion Roșca wrote a paper on Tiraspol entitled “Tiraspol – the Border City of Eastern Latinity”, a contested entity under the prism of the Transnistrian conflict. The authors concentrate on detailing a cultural perspective speaking mostly about the relation between culture and geography. In their view, the individual is a much more important component in non-EU states, with a strong ability to influence Brussels.

Ioan Horga and Ana-Maria Costea in the *Focus* section of *Eurolimes* write about “Frontier Cities: Between Communication and Fragmentation”. The article shows that even under influence of globalisation, there can sometimes be barriers that are hidden, invisible. The authors try to explain how border influence city development, while also emphasising the role of the European Union as fortress rather than an open society²⁸: there are national borders, there is the Euro zone and non-Euro zone and there is the Schengen area and non-Schengen area²⁹. Local autonomous governance and security are areas that are in the competence of the member state (the national state), not the EU. In the authors’ opinion, sometimes border cities transcend national borders. The authors concentrate on countries that are divided by borders such as Nicosia but also talk about cities that influence a border region such as Giurgiu – Ruse. There are also cities that influence a border region such as Oradea – Debrecen (Bihor – Hajdú Bihar) or cities that function as an enclave such as Kaliningrad. The last theme studied by the authors is related to border cities as settlements that have divided communities, cities with integrated cultural borders or cities with social borders.

Considering all these, the current issue of *Eurolimes* on *Border Cities in Europe* analyses the themes of: border cities, cities in the border region and frontier cities in a world marked by globalisation that has both positive and negative influences³⁰. The frontier has been the subject of change for a long time. The articles presented in this volume have explored some of these dimensions: boundary – corresponding to the border limit; border – the state border; frontier – territory neighbouring the border³¹.

“Therefore, it is very hard to say where Ukraine belongs today: it belongs to the EU? It belongs to the Custom Union? As Peter Balzs said in his speech ‘it depends on the Ukrainian politics and it depends mainly on the EU positio’ and let me add that it depends also on Russia’s position and influence vis-à-vis the EU as well given the power that this state has over the regional dynamics”.

²⁸ Ioan Horga and Ariane Landuyt, *Communicating EU Policies beyond the/Its Borders* (Oradea-Romania: Oradea University Press, 2013).

²⁹ Cristina-Maria Dogot and Ioan Horga, “Enlargement Process, Classic Geopolitics, and EU Internal Priorities,” in *Eurolimes 14, Enlargements, Borders and the Changes of EU Political Priorities*, ed. Ariane Landuyt et al. (Oradea: Oradea University Press / Bruylant, Autumn 2012), 161-180.

³⁰ Luminița Șoproni, *Relații economice internaționale* [Economic International Relations] (Oradea-Romania: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2004), 295-298.

³¹ Ioan Horga, „Why Eurolimes,” *Eurolimes 1, Europe and Its Border: Historical Perspective*, ed. Ioan Horga and Sorin Șipoș (Oradea: Oradea University Press, Spring 2006), 5.

If at first we were talking about closed borders, difficult to permeate, now we can talk about open borders that are very easy to get across. The European Union created a new concept for borders: internal and external borders for the European space. Borders represent a problem as in the current international environment Europe can be viewed more like a fortress than an open gate society. We can identify national borders, Euro and non-Euro zone, and Schengen and non-Schengen area. Border cities sometimes go beyond national delimitations and, in this case, we can begin to talk about Europeanisation, internationalisation: communication channels, instruments and methods used are quite diverse in such a way that cities start to influence the surrounding area or even on a larger scale continents. In the current society borders have not disappeared. There are borders that separate states and communities such as that between Romania and the Republic of Moldova. There are borders that create separation between identities (one from the EU, the other from outside the EU), as is the case of Ukraine that occupies a space between East and West. Looking towards the migration wave from the Middle East we can easily understand why Europe can sometimes be viewed as a fortress. A good example of cities in border regions is also that of Oradea and Debrecen, situated on the Romanian – Hungarian border, both important components of the Bihor – Hajdú Bihar Euroregion, but also part of the Carpathian Euroregion that includes cities from Ukraine, Slovakia and Poland. The cooperation between the two cities can be taken as an example of good practice on different levels of cross-border cooperation through the numerous programmes and instruments used in cooperation.

Literature in this field also mentions concepts such as double cities or twin cities and also bi-national cities. A double city is a pair of two cities of about equal size that are situated close to each other, according to G. Sparrow and O. Heddebaut discuss about bi-national city, those double cities that are divided by a national border, that share a common hinterland and whose inhabitants have a belonging together. In *GeoJournal* 54, Bi-national cities could become a suitable name for such paired border cities, a name that, moreover, does not suffer from the European connotation peculiar to the Euroregions concept. Based on the studies presented in this volume of *Eurolimes*, titled “Border Cities in Europe”, cities that are situated on two sides of the same border can develop on common goals and strategies. Such is the case of Oradea and Debrecen, two small cities that face strong competition in the region from more developed growth poles that have decided to develop together in certain areas in order to become more competitive in a national and regional context.

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